224 /101 cont./
time to discharge the weapon. The most coveted animals are
• [251] the deer, the danta, the paca, and the wild pig. When there
[439] is a great abundance of game, the meat is smoked at the fire,
[437] preserved, and used in barter for proportionate products through the rubber workers.

226 Perhaps the products obtained by fishing constitute the
146 most important source of animal proteins in the Tukano alimentation. Even though it is possible to do without meat, the presence of fish in the daily diet of the Tukano Indian is indispensable.

226 In fishing, the native uses traps of various shapes and sizes, the use of which depends on the size of the river or stream and of the fish sought. The barbasco is also used. Since the arrival of the Creole in the region, the fishhook has been introduced. The fishhook is tied to a branch and left to remain in the water without the personal vigilance of the native, who returns hours later to check his different traps and the various fishhooks that
[178] he has left along the river. The most commonly used bait is a fruit, but pieces of sardines are also used.

231 /102/ A custom little practiced at present is fishing by means of small arrows shot with bows of a proportionate size.

The Tukano Indians like very much to have domesticated animals in their houses, or malocas. They have monkeys, birds, dogs, etc. They love and take care of these animals as if they were their own children, and to feed them when they are small, the
231 native first chews the food before giving it to the animal to eat.
262 Every maloca has a chicken yard nearby, although the chickens
[439] are not used in the native alimentation, but for barter with the
[437] rubber workers. The egg of the chicken does not form part of the diet of the Tukano Indian. Worms and ants complement the native alimentation.

342 The Tukano maloca is of rectangular plan with a two-sided roof that does not rest on walls, but extends to the ground. The front and back sides are closed with walls of plaited straw and constitute the principal and secondary façades, respectively.

/216 cont./

252 minor consumption and received from the civilized, just as from the latter they received the use of boiled and roasted maize, but very scantily.

c) Fish and fish dishes:

*192 • 251 252 1) Fish. Fish, in Tukano wai, also constitutes a customary food for the natives who inhabit the banks of the Uaupés and principal tributaries, sufficiently rich in fish for the small groups of present-day populations. They eat the fish almost always moqueado, wai sṍkõ̃ (Uaupés wai sõxsókõ̃), that is, roasted and smoked on a slow fire, only the entrails having been taken out, or even with them if the fish are small. The fire is set about 80 or 100 centimeters below a wooden grill, the moquém (cf. VI, 2, f(1)).

The smoked fish is kept for a long time, because sufficiently good dehydration is done. And thus for weeks, when the fishing has been bountiful, they keep it at home or consume it on journeys.

*192 251 2) Fish flour. From the smoked and dried fish, they remove the skeleton, crush it in the mortar, take it to the oven, reduce it to flour with the hand until it is completely dry, and the fish flour, wai pókã́ (from wai, fish, and po'kã́, flour; in Nheengatú, pirá-cuí, from pirá, fish, and cuí, flour), which they use when there is no fresh fish, is prepared (45).

45. Concerning this fish flour, Gen. Couto de Magalhães informs us: "sent to one of the expositions in London, it deserved the honors of being classified as the most perfect of the fish preserves" (Ensaio de Anthropologia -- Região e Raça Selvagens /Essay in Anthropology -- Savage Region and Race/, p. 398; Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geogr. Brasileiro, Vol. 36 -- Rio de Janeiro, 1873).

252 *[192] 3) Quinhapira and maniçoba. They also prepare fresh fish, cooking it in water with much pepper and also with salt, if they have it.

192 /221 cont./

222 d) They likewise eat, alive or roasted, the saúvas, byã-põrá
252 (or põná; it means offshoot or broad, põrá, of the pepper, byá,
262 because of their spicy flavor), and the termite, buxtwá.

2) Larvae.

a) At certain times of the year very many dark larvae about 3 to 4 centimeters in length appear on the plants of the jupará, ba'tĩ (erísma japurá, Spr.) and of the cunurí, waxpõ (cunúria spruceana, Baill.), totally devouring their leaves. As soon as they perceive it, the Indians bring down the surrounding plants so that the larvae will not move on to other trees, and they are thus forced to go down by way of the trunk in search of food. At the bottom part of the trunk they make a ring with the leaf of the pocova sororoca (ohõ pũrĩ), which is very smooth. The caterpillars, upon reaching there, slip and fall to the ground, being collected with sticks or strings into strainers, and are later slowly
[251] roasted on a mat at a certain distance from the fire. The quantity is so great that they can fill baskets, which are stored in the smoke chamber, in order to be consumed little by little.

Even when they do not discover it until the chrysalis stage, they cut off the branches loaded with cocoons, like a large ear of maize, and they toast them, it thus being easier to open the
[226] cocoons, as if they were shells of roasted peanuts. The chrysalis constitutes a greatly appreciated delicacy and is also used as bait for the fishhook. These larvae are called in Tukano bá-tĩ-ʊ̃a (louse? of the japurá) and waxpõ-ʊ̃a (louse of the cunurí).

b) Mẽ'rẽ-pãma is the Tukano name of a greenish-yellow larva similar to the silkworm, which feeds on the leaves of the inga tree (ingá édulis, Mimosáceae) and which is greatly appreciated, alive or roasted.

/222/ c) Besides the ones indicated, there are various other larvae sought for food, such as the ones called mẽ'rẽ-ka-pextorõá, likewise from the inga tree; nixtʊ̃á, also from the cunurí; nextoá, which lives in the tree of the same name; suxpi-sõ, which feeds on the leaves of the acuaricuara (tiny red seeds); pixkõrõá, from the pupunheira; sitá, from the tree called uxpĩsikarã.

/223 cont./

*192 222 262 252 Assaí, patauá, and bacaba are small nuts, in bunches. Put in hot water, the pulp that envelops them comes loose. This, after being crushed and strained, is mixed into the chibé or into the mingau, making it more nourishing and flavorful.

4) They also leave the umarí (paroquéiba /Poraqueiba/ paraénsis, Ducke) in water, after having sucked the sweetish yellow rind, in order for the stone to lose its bitter juice. They also customarily mix its yellow mass into the mingau.

245 252 262 245 • 251 273 *[192] 5) The pupunha tree is an ornamental palm, straight, with beautiful fronds, which they plant in all their povoados. Twice a year it produces bunches of small red or orange nuts with a farinaceous and dry pulp. They eat them cooked in water. /224/ They like them so much that during this time they abstain from other foods. Its pulp, diluted in water and left to ferment in camotins for 24 hours, is transformed into a very tasty drink, the pupunha caxirí, ɨ'rɛ̃-kó.

When there is a great abundance of this nut, they prepare a large quantity of the mass, and, in order to keep it during the year without spoiling, they dig a hole in the vicinity of the house, line it well with banana leaves, and there they introduce the mass, pressing it well in order to expel all the air, and afterwards they cover it further with banana leaves and a layer of soil a span or more thick. This mass will be used for preparing the caxirí for months.

222 252 262 *[192] 6) Among the most sought wild fruits is the japurá, a dicotyledon, like an almond, inside of a soft involucre. They subject it to boiling, in order to eliminate the thin and bitter skin that covers it, and then crush it, producing a dark mass, with a sharpness that reminds one of Gorgonzola cheese (54).

54. Pe. José Monteiro de Noronha already reported that in 1759 in his "Roteiro de Viagem /Voyage Logbook/," p. 114: "The Indians will have put the name of Japurá on it (on a

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/footnote 54 cont./ river) because very common among the savages along it is a soft mass, black and with a very unpleasant smell, made from certain fruits called Yapurá (the name of the river is pronounced this way among the Indians) after they are spoiled, which is eaten with their bread or beijú, and with everything that they think suitable."

[263]
[251]

They eat it with beijú or as seasoning for fish. When they make it in large quantities, they keep it in holes in the ground, like the mass of pupunha.

[784]

It is to be noted that the woman must not go to the toilet or even drink water, while she is preparing the japurá. Otherwise the mass would all spoil, they say.

g) /sic/ The cunurí, waxpõ, is also eaten roasted or boiled. After it is cooked, however, it must be left immersed in running water in order to lose the bitter flavor.

h) Drinks.

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The various drinks that the Indian makes are called, with a term taken from the Língua Geral, caxirí, in Tukano pêru. The term caxirí, or pêru baxsasé, also designates their feasts, which are always held with drinking bouts. Without the latter the former cannot be conceived.

The caxirí is similar to a beer or a fruit wine with regard to the taste (55);

55. "From the palm trees the Indians make a delicious wine," says Pe. Alonso de Rojas in his account of the voyage of 1637 (in "Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas," p. 118).

/247 cont./

241 *[192] The harvest, du'á, is done by pulling the plant by the stem and taking it out with the hands. They start the harvest at the periphery of the clearing, "in order to fool the cutia /agouti/." They say that upon finding the ground turned over at the edges, it will abandon the clearing, which it thinks is completely harvested. • [251] The Indian is not provident, nor does he think of accumulating food. Thus he has no storage place or warehouse. The circumstance of the climate favors him and leads him to this. Besides, due to the hot and humid climate, the mandioca starts to deteriorate a few hours after it has been pulled, and the fresh flour and beijú are tastier.

The man will go to see the clearing only periodically, especially when his participation becomes necessary in order to fight the ants or the animals that attack the planting. When the quantity of ants causes apprehension, they exterminate them by lighting a fire in the hole of the anthill with a termite nest, or by guiding there the waters of the frequent rains.

According to the fertility of the ground, planting will be done *[192] there for three or four years. At the second and third planting, when the roots and trunks begin to rot, the cleaning, O'á, is more thorough and is done by dragging the loose soil with a stick. All this process of burnings and cleanings impoverishes the clearing; forest will never be formed there any more. A clear space or barren land will remain, perpetuating the spot. At most a scrubby brush will emerge there.

Frequently there is a small clearing near the house, when the other one is very far away, for the days of rain or sickness.

The contingency of making a new clearing at short intervals, the native improvidence, which is a racial characteristic, the inconstancy of the climatic elements that exists in the region (76),

> 76. On the one hand, the inconstancy of the climatic factors, which characterizes the whole basin of the Rio Negro, and, on the other, the almost general poverty of the soil and the

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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133 igneous rock dot the country. These hills seem to have little interest for the Cubeo, but the mesas with their sandstone caves are held to be the dwellings of dangerous demons.

136 (251) Fish are generally abundant and are represented by hundreds of species. The favorite of all tribes is the aracú, which the Indians commonly smoke to preserve. The piranha and the river anaconda are the constant river hazards. The piranha seem always to be present, as can be proved by throwing animal entrails into the river. The waste is hit by the fish almost instantly and devoured within minutes. The Indians, however, do not dread either the anaconda or the piranha, but when preparing to bathe they circumspectly drum the surface of the water with their cupped hands to drive these creatures off. The river anaconda reaches a length of over 20 feet and is regarded as dangerous only in the vicinity of submerged trees, which it uses for leverage in seizing a victim and pulling him under. However, children who play constantly in such waters are aware of the hazard but are not afraid, nor are their elders anxious for them. I heard of no specific cases of injury from either piranha or anaconda. The man-eating cayman of the sluggish llanos rivers is absent here and the smaller cayman is a minor hazard.

The Northwest Amazon has its share of tropical forest game, although, as Lord Wallace observed (1870, p. 446), the Amazon is a mammal-poor region. The jaguar is feared in its supernatural aspect only. The peccary, until recently hunted by a group of men armed with spears, is acknowledged to be dangerous and aggressive when challenged. The tapir will also charge when annoyed, but neither animal fills the Indian with dread. For the rest, the forest game is small and shy. It consists of the small red deer, the rodents such as paca, capybara, and agouti, the raccoon-like coati, monkeys, and armadillo. River otters are common but are not molested. When they surround a canoe with their excited barking the Indians greet them with a discreet silence and wait for them to submerge again. Bird life is rich but of small economic importance.

All visitors to the region have described vividly their unpleasant encounters with its insect life. The Indians are made equally miserable by the swarms of pium gnats and sand flies. Careless scratching (164) of an insect bite produces dangerous ulcerations. I have seen Indians who had lost several square feet of skin from such spreading ulcers. Chigger (*neguas*) hygiene is a preoccupation of all residents of the Northwest Amazon. The Indians are expert in expelling the spherical sacs with a deft pressure from a stick or knife blade. In the forest the sting of the red ant bothers the naked Indians more than the clothed

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773 From *K'ùwaĩ*, the culture hero, the people learned how to fish with
226 hook and line and how to hunt with bow and arrow and with the
224 blowgun. The Indians say that in ancient times they did not hunt the
[177] tapir. It was not until they acquired guns that they learned how to
[411] kill tapir. Other animals they did not eat because of religious taboos
that are no longer in force. Paca and armadillo were devourers of
262 human corpses and were hence forbidden; eating sloth would make
[614] people lazy; and finally, all animals whose names were represented
in the sib genealogies were taboo to members of that sib.

PRODUCTION

261 The Cubeo do not value abundance of food for its own sake.
433 Plenty is, to be sure, widely enjoyed as a break in the daily routine.
It is not valued for its promise of satiety, for the Indians customarily
eat moderately, but for the opportunity it offers for a gay feast. A big
catch of game or of fish excites the people because it does not occur
• [251] often. There is no desire to overdo, however, and no more is brought
than will be consumed directly or can be safely preserved by smoking
and drying. Since, at best, smoking preserves meat for only a week or
[554] two in the tropical climate there is not much point in increasing
[614] a fisherman's or a hunter's "take." Social status is a minor issue in
[574] food production since feasting is essentially intrasib, whereas social
status comes into play most sharply between sibs.

433 In short, there are no strong motives to stimulate hunting and fish-
ing other than appetite and desire for variety. The pressure in pro-
duction falls upon the women. If we are to speak of "surplus" at all in
244 Cubeo food production it can be only in connection with the manioc
433 crop, which is regarded as the woman's contribution, even though it
is the men who make the clearing. The limiting factor in manioc pro-
[462] duction is not land as much as it is labor and morale. A large com-
munity under a forceful headman can clear a good deal more land
than is needed for subsistence. In the case of manioc, subsistence can
244 be measured precisely by the amount that is converted directly to
433 manioc cake (*áuno*) and to tapioca porridge. "Surplus" is what is
252 converted to chicha (*unkúndye*) and to farinha. There can be no
[177] doubt but that the machete, now universal in the region, improved
[412] the standard of nourishment considerably. The real limitation upon
production is woman power. Since women carry through all phases
[462] of manioc production, from planting and harvesting to conversion
into the final product, they are the ultimate "bottleneck." A woman
working only to prepare manioc as food is already fully occupied.

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226 554 Yet a leader of a fishing party may, indeed, ask an elder to come along as an expert. The fact is that expertness is very casually shared, as each fisherman narrates at the end of a day what he accomplished and how he accomplished it.

226 796 After a great catch, fish are dried and smoked for several days on wooden racks set up outside the house. The entire sib gathers, each man selects a dried fish, mounts it on a stick, and dances with it. The [251] dancers wear a headdress of splints that is shaped to resemble a fish [417] basket and is called *nyukáro*, and also carry dance staffs decorated [614] with feathers of the great fishing birds, the heron and the river eagle. [237] They sing songs (*máopwa*) honoring the fish. There may be as many as four or five such festivals during the course of the year. I was [114] told the greatest come when the winter rains have stopped. After the dance they feast on the fish. Curiously, I never witnessed this fish festival, called simply *upaúeteno* (festival). The Indians explained that they only have the festival when they are in the mood. The dance is not intended to increase the supply of fish.

226 484 Not all communities were as well situated for fishing as were those of the Cuduiarí, a well-stocked stream. Other tribes in the area often used distant streams, camping out for long periods of time, living on fish and preserving some of the catch for use at home. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels, encountered many Indians far from home, fishing strange streams (1909, II, 27 ff.). On the Cuduiarí the problem of 226 shortage was felt mainly by the upstream communities at the very 484 bottom of the dry season. These people, however, were then free 574 to fish along unoccupied stretches of the Cuduiarí, camping out or 602 accepting the hospitality of phratry mates for fishing sites and for shelter. If they went to another stream it was generally to the sites of in-laws, where they also had hospitality rights. Thus, kinship, including the affinal and the maternal ties, provides a completely reliable mechanism for interchange of territorial resources.

HUNTING

224 [462] Hunting is a secondary masculine pursuit. Whereas every adult male is a fisherman not all are hunters. Hunting attracts naturally the most vigorous age groups, men in their late teens to about 30, [178] although there are no age restrictions that would bar an old man from joining a hunting party. Hunting may have been more prominent in the past, when only native weapons, spears and blowguns using [177] curare-tipped darts, were fashionable. Today the Indians hunt with muzzle-loading shotguns that only a few possess because of the ex-

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pense and trouble. A hunter is not disposed to take risks with his small store of shot, powder, and percussion caps, and, since a man does not like to return empty-handed, a hunting party is formed only when its organizer is reasonably certain of success. As in any collective undertaking, any man who wishes to may join a hunting party. However, most parties that I have observed consisted of blood brothers or other sibmates who habitually hunted together. Hunters, of necessity, have a strong feeling for teamwork. The Cubeo are excellent marksmen, cool and courageous.

The big game is the tapir (*vekú*), who is awaited at a salt lick near a small stream. The tapir follows a customary route to the salt lick, arriving quite late in the afternoon. He has worn a trail as deep as a ditch in the soft earth. Among the maze of these deep pathways fresh tracks and fresh dung are the signs of current use. A man who has seen fresh tracks reports it. The hunters go out to kill a particular tapir who has already been observed, so that they may speak of him in personal terms.

Communities differ in hunting customs. Some use dogs to chase the animal through the forest. The *Bahúkiwa* method, which seemed quite successful, was to rendezvous with the tapir at his salt lick. The Indians are fond of tapir flesh, which is tender and tasty. I participated in only one tapir hunt with the *Bahúkiwa*. A large female was killed, toward dusk, as she nibbled on salted earth. We camped nearby, spending a good part of the night eating spit-broiled steaks and cutting up the animal for transportation home. The limbs came as entire pieces, and the rest of the flesh was cut into strips and neatly packaged in palm leaves. The men were very gay. They amused themselves by inserting sticks into the tapir's vagina. As the animal had been killed in the territory of another sib we stopped at the sib house and, as is customary, gave away about half the meat. The *Bahúkiwa* hunters were pleased at the opportunity to display both generosity and evidence of success. The remainder of the flesh was distributed at the home sib, each hunter making a personal presentation of a portion of meat. The Cubeo utilize nothing but the flesh of the tapir.

Hunting, in summary, is a distinctive pursuit and marks one for prominence. An aspirant for the headmanship is ordinarily a hunter. He pleases the community because he enlivens the diet and has surrendered some of his leisure in its behalf. In a special category is the hunter of the dreaded jaguar. Such a man is interested in sport and in prestige. The jaguar hunter may be solitary or he may invite a few close friends to accompany him. He brings home the hide for a

61 ity, each tribe is aligned with one of five phratries. Each phratry is a named, exogamous group of sibs that marries into the other phratries in the area. A phratry is not a political or ceremonial unit per se.

592 61 594 The basic political and ceremonial unit of the Northwest Amazon is the longhouse group, which is also the basic unit of economic redistribution. (The nuclear family is the basic economic unit *before* redistribution.) A new longhouse unit is often created by several classificatory brothers, not necessarily from the same parent longhouse. The one among them who is felt to have the best leadership qualifications becomes chief of the new longhouse group. Sometimes, also, a growing lineage group establishes a new longhouse, with its patriarch as chief. (Each nuclear family has its own area in the longhouse, and each married woman has her own hearth in this area; her husband smokes his fish and game on a rack lowered from the rafters above her hearth. All men and boys are served at one time at the center front of the longhouse by the women, who bring what they have individually prepared at their hearths, including some of their husbands' fish and game, and lay it out for all the men to share. After the men have eaten, the women and girls eat. Then each woman reclaims her own prepared food and what is left of her husband's catch.) A well-established longhouse group becomes, over a period of time, a cluster of lineages. A tribe is represented by a series of longhouses, located several hours' paddling distance apart from each other along a river and often situated at rapids for good fishing.

[251] [354] [264] [562] 61

619 197 The tribe is co-extensive with the linguistic group, which is composed of those individuals who are expected to have used the language as their principal language when they were children in their nuclear family of orientation. The language that identifies the linguistic group is, then, at once the father tongue, the longhouse language, and the tribal language of each member; it is *not* the language that identifies the mother's linguistic group.

61 582 The exogamic group is the phratry. Cultural emphasis is more on nonendogamy within the phratry than on prescribed exogamic alliances among the phratries (although suggestions of such may be found among some of the tribes). Informants, however, claim that the unit of exogamy is the tribe. The few exceptional cases of tribes whose sibs belong

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